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ABSTRACT

Although the demand for child care in the United States has risen over the past 40 years, the supply of good quality child care remains both limited and costly, and the supply of well-trained and adequately compensated workers remains low. This study reviewed how advocates have moved the issue of child care worker compensation forward in the public policy arena in Georgia, Massachusetts, and Washington. The research addressed how the issue of improving child care worker compensation is defined or framed, identifies the key advocates in this policy area, describes the strategies used to promote better compensation for child care workers, and details the types of competition and tensions occurring when the compensation issue is raised. Information was compiled from several sources, including 80 personal interviews with representatives from government, business, the nonprofit sector, and child care providers. Among the major findings are that the robust economy of the late 1990s created a favorable environment to discuss worker compensation issues. Quality of care was the overarching policy message used in all three states. In each state, one or two initiatives were most prominent in worker compensation advocacy. A key individual or organization emerged to provide leadership for the issue. Several unions have been active in bringing attention to compensation issues. Each state developed a distinct structural arrangement and advocacy model to promote the issue. Competition was evident among groups in all three states, although the types of tensions varied. Implications for advocacy relate to increasing public awareness, building a broad and diverse constituency beyond child advocacy groups, developing concrete proposals, and seeking a steady stream of funding. The interview guide is appended. (Contains 34 references.) (KB)

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Toward Better Child Care Worker Compensation: Advocacy in Three States

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Toward Better Child Care Worker Compensation:
Advocacy in Three States
by
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The Urban Institute

For the past four decades, public debate about child care in the United States has focused on the quality, affordability, and accessibility of care. Although the demand for child care has risen, the supply of good quality child care remains both limited and costly, and the supply of well-trained and adequately compensated workers remains low. Supply-side factors that affect the child care market, such as the wages and benefits of the child care workforce, are not often discussed.

This study reviewed how advocates have moved the issue of child care worker compensation forward in the public policy arena in Georgia, Massachusetts, and Washington. These states were selected because they are geographically dispersed, represent different socioeconomic and political environments, and used different policy approaches to address the compensation issue. These factors provided an opportunity to examine the similarities and differences of how the issue of child care worker compensation reaches state-level policy agendas. The research addressed four questions:

- How is the issue of improving child care worker compensation defined or framed?
- Who are the key advocates in this policy area?
- What strategies are used to promote better compensation for child care workers?
- What types of competition and tensions occur when raising this issue?

The information in this report was compiled from a number of sources. Locally based researchers in each site conducted personal interviews with 80 people from government, business, and the nonprofit sector, including advocacy groups, unions, and child care providers, between May and August 2001. The study also reviewed Internet web sites, newspapers, journals, and numerous reports.

Findings

The robust economy of the late 1990s created a favorable environment to discuss child care worker compensation issues. Dramatically expanding state revenues and the growing pool of private philanthropic dollars laid the groundwork for conversations about child care worker wages. Private foundations and individual philanthropists in all three states increased their financial support for community-based services, including child care. In Massachusetts and Washington, several foundations worked with advocates to identify critical issues to fund, resulting in an infusion of dollars toward organizing efforts around the issue of child care worker compensation.

Quality of care was the overarching policy message used in all three sites. Although better compensation for child care workers may be a worthy goal, policy remedies to directly accomplish this end have not been politically viable. Instead, advocates in the three sites framed their arguments for better compensation around the issue of better quality of care for children. Indeed, quality of care was the cross-cutting policy message used in all three sites. However, to respond to the environmental and political realities of their states, advocates of the major child care compensation initiatives in each state framed their arguments quite differently. Georgia linked school-readiness and the quality of care to economic development issues. Washington linked quality child care to professional development and wage and equity issues. Massachusetts also connected the quality of care to professional development and wage equity for child care workers, but framed the issue as a way to promote school readiness.

In each state, child care worker compensation issues are being addressed through several mechanisms, but one or two initiatives are most prominent.

- The Georgia Universal Pre-Kindergarten (Pre-K) program was not designed to address the issue of child care worker compensation, but its standards for Pre-K teachers and its links to public schools have indirectly affected the training and compensation of child care workers. The Georgia Early Learning Initiative (GELI), a relatively new program, supports several initiatives that also address the compensation question. These programs support training and education for child care workers and link completion of this training to higher compensation.

- Advocates in Washington developed a Career Development Ladder. The Career Ladder program directly improves child care worker compensation by tying wage increases to advanced levels of training, experience, and responsibility.

- In Massachusetts, increases in reimbursement rates have been used to improve quality of care and have attempted to link higher rates to better wages. This latter strategy has proven difficult because the added funds do not necessarily go toward workers' wages. A new initiative, the Early Education for All Campaign, is building support for universal early education for all 3-, 4-, and 5-year-olds in the state. The forthcoming proposal is expected to recommend better compensation linked to training as a way to attract and retain child care teachers.

A key individual or organization emerged to provide leadership for the issue. Many individuals and organizations are working to improve the compensation of child care workers, but in each of the three states, an individual or group emerged as the active voice for promoting the issue. In Georgia, the governor played a strong role in the passage of the Pre-K program. In the other states, new groups, such as the Economic Opportunity Institute in Seattle and Strategies for Children in Boston, have assumed leadership around child care worker compensation. Leaders of these key organizations came from outside the child care and child advocacy fields. They were not trained in early education, child development, or other children's issues. Rather, they come from the worlds of politics, economics, public policy, and community organizing. Their leadership skills, developed

through previous work experiences, helped them to build strategic relationships with groups and individuals who were persuaded to support their advocacy efforts.

Several unions have been active in bringing attention to compensation issues. While individual leadership has been crucial to move forward the agenda to promote better worker wages, unions have begun to play a more active role in this arena, despite the difficult task of organizing child care workers. In contrast, local affiliates of national child advocacy groups did not play a prominent role in the three sites, despite their presumed experience in participating in the policymaking process.

Each state developed a distinct structural arrangement and advocacy model to promote the issue of child care worker compensation. The Georgia experience illustrates the development of cross-sector networks and partnerships among key institutional players, such as the governor, the United Way, and the philanthropic and business communities. In Washington, a new advocacy organization built a powerful board of directors that brought together influential political elites and a cross-section of diverse interests. In Massachusetts, the Early Education for All Campaign is organized much like a political campaign that builds grassroots support among diverse constituency groups while concurrently positioning itself to be heard in the legislative chambers.

Competition was evident among groups in all three sites, although the types of tensions varied across the states. In Georgia, there was evidence of tension between nonprofit and for-profit child care providers over licensing and other policy objectives. In Washington, there was tension among nonprofit advocates, leading some groups to back away from the Career Ladder and support other initiatives. Massachusetts exhibited competition and tensions between two state agencies that are responsible for different aspects of child care and early education. Interagency disagreements about the direction of policy and remedies to address child care worker compensation problems seem to impede the development of new initiatives.

Implications for Advocacy

Although states are providing new and viable models to address child care quality and worker compensation issues, low pay and few benefits are still widespread problems in the child care industry. Advocates, foundations, and other stakeholders can follow a number of strategies to move the child care compensation issue forward.

Increase public awareness of the need for quality child care programs and the linkages between well-trained, well-compensated providers and quality of care. Many parents, voters, and policymakers do not fully understand the need for quality child care or that low staff wages can affect quality through high staff turnover and poorly trained teachers. Public education campaigns emphasizing the benefits that quality child care provide young children can help to strengthen support for this issue.

Build a broad and diverse constituency beyond child advocacy groups. Child advocates must work with multiple stakeholders to generate a broad base of support. Parents should be more engaged in the political process, and child care workers should be

empowered to speak on their own behalf. The business community can be a powerful ally to advocate on behalf of children.

Develop concrete proposals that lawmakers can act on. Although initial stages of the advocacy process can benefit from multiple ideas and points of view, child advocates must find common ground before taking their bills to the legislature or the public. Multiple bills reflecting diverse points of view limit the chances that something concrete will be funded. Pursuing one or two major policy goals rather than a long list of needs focuses resources and energies on the issue.

Move quickly to scale up programs that reach all children. Many advocates in the study said that a critical factor to a program's success is to move quickly from a pilot stage to a statewide program. Also, making a program universal rather than targeted toward low-income children and families will increase the program's political viability.

Seek a steady stream of funding. Of the three states in the study, Georgia has been the most successful in identifying a reliable pool of money. Funding for the Georgia voluntary Pre-K program is tied to the state lottery. Washington State supports its career ladder through Temporary Assistance for Needy Families (TANF) funds, which are vulnerable to competing demands for these resources and to federal reauthorization. Massachusetts has not indicated what financial mechanisms it will propose to support its forthcoming proposal. In the end, money matters. Quality child care is costly, and advocates need to identify a solid and secure source of funding to support their efforts. Partnerships among government, business, and foundations may be needed to achieve the common goal of quality care for children.

Build an infrastructure that supports the professional development of the child care workforce. Training and professional development for child care workers will not happen quickly unless an infrastructure is in place to support these efforts. In some states, there may be a need to increase the network of two- and four-year colleges that offer AA degrees in early education; in other states, additional scholarship programs may be required to give child care workers access to training and education programs.

Strengthen the capacity of nonprofit organizations that engage in child advocacy. Many child advocacy organizations lack the capacity to conduct extensive or continuous advocacy work. They often lack the time, knowledge, staff, and resources to follow legislation, meet legislative leaders, conduct public education campaigns, prepare expert testimony, or otherwise engage in the political process. Without the resources and capacity to serve this function, many child advocacy groups are handicapped in getting their voices heard.

This report is a product of *Getting Compensation for Child Care Workers on the Policy Agenda: An In-Depth Look at Advocacy Efforts*, a project implemented by the Urban Institute, Center on Nonprofits and Philanthropy. The project was supported by the Foundation for Child Development. The full report as well as the three site reports are available at http://www.urban.org/advocacyresearch/childcare_workerscomp.html and http://www.ffcd.org/ourwork.htm. The conclusions and opinions expressed in this report are those of the authors and do not necessarily reflect the views of staff, officers, or trustees of the Urban Institute, advisory groups, or organizations that provided financial support for the study.

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INTRODUCTION

For the past four decades, public debate about child care in the United States has focused on the quality, affordability, and accessibility of care. Less often discussed are supply-side factors that affect the child care market, such as the wages and benefits of the child care workforce. Child care workers are among the lowest paid workers in the U.S. labor force, and few receive benefits such as health insurance and paid leave. The issue of compensation has been particularly difficult to advance for a host of economic and political reasons. The potential costs associated with assuring good quality child care is high, and there is a dearth of suitable policy or market mechanisms for achieving systemic improvements in workforce compensation.

Interest in child care worker compensation gained momentum among children's advocates in the latter half of the 1990s (Whitebook 2002). The strong economy produced tight labor markets and budget surpluses, and the 1996 federal welfare reforms not only increased demand on the child care market but also provided state governments with more money through the Child Care Development Fund (CCDF) and TANF to develop child care programs and policies to meet the needs of children and parents in their states. These changes in the economic and political environments of most states gave child advocates an opportunity to build public support for better compensation policies, mobilize workers, and shape policy tools to improve the quality of child care programs. The reauthorization of TANF in 2002 will influence the level of funding available to states for these child care programs.

This report provides the findings of a study by the Center on Nonprofits and Philanthropy at the Urban Institute on how child care worker compensation initiatives get on the public policy agenda. Specifically, the study sought to understand how nonprofit organizations and child advocates frame the issue, devise strategies to advance the discussion, and use cross-sector collaboration to garner support for the issue. The study had two components. First, using secondary data, Internet searches, and interviews with child advocates, we identified state-level initiatives that are intended to foster better compensation for child care workers. By the end of 2000, 37 states and the District of Columbia had developed a strategy either directly or indirectly to raise the compensation of child care workers (Twombly, Montilla, and De Vita 2001).

Second, we used case studies in three states (Georgia, Massachusetts, and Washington) to identify the specific factors and advocacy efforts that placed child care worker compensation initiatives on the states' public policy agendas. While welfare reform legislation and a robust economy were clearly catalysts for focusing attention on the problems in the child care industry, we wanted to understand the activities and strategies of advocates and policy entrepreneurs who raised the child care worker wage issue. Using in-person interviews and secondary information, we explored the following research questions:

- How is the issue of improving child care worker compensation defined or framed?
- Who are the key advocates in this policy area?
- What strategies are used to promote better compensation of child care workers?
- What types of competition and tensions occur when raising this issue?

This report explores these questions in considerable depth. We begin by describing the child care market and providing a short review of the types of policy responses that address the child care worker compensation issue. After a brief description of how the study sites were selected, we describe the environmental conditions of the three sites by their demographic, economic, and political characteristics. We then discuss the work of the child advocates: the various issue frames, the key policy actors, and the collaborations and partnerships that emerged. The final sections of the report outline the factors that promote and hinder advocacy activities in the states and discuss how these findings can be used by various stakeholders—foundations, advocates, child care providers, business, government—to improve child care worker compensation.

THE CHILD CARE INDUSTRY: A SUPPLY-AND-DEMAND CONUNDRUM

Since the mid-1960s when women began entering the paid labor force in large numbers, child care has been an important social, economic, and political issue. Although the demand for child care has risen, the supply of good quality child care remains both limited and costly, and the supply of well-trained and adequately compensated workers remains low. This situation has defied the classic economic model of supply and demand and has confounded attempts to secure better compensation for child care workers.

Demand for Care

Over the past four decades, the number of mothers who work outside the home has more than tripled. Nearly 26 million mothers were in the paid labor force in 1999, up from 8.1 million in 1960 (U.S. Census Bureau 2000). Even mothers with very young children are working outside the home. Two of every three mothers with preschool children (10.3

million women) were employed in 1999, compared with only one in three in 1970 (U.S. Census Bureau 2000). These employed mothers create a steady and persistent demand for accessible, reliable, and affordable child care.

But the demand for child care is not fueled solely by labor market participation. Increasingly, both employed and stay-at-home mothers view out-of-home child care as a way to enhance and enrich their children's development. By 1998, more than half (52 percent) of all 3- and 4-year-olds were enrolled in preschool programs, compared with only 20 percent in 1970 (U.S. Census Bureau 2000).

Finding quality child care can be difficult, however. Studies of child care arrangements in the United States typically find that the quality of programs is mediocre to poor (Morris 1999). Programs tend to be characterized by high child-to-adult ratios, poorly trained staff, low wages, and high staff turnover. Because some parents do not recognize the characteristics of good quality child care, factors such as location, hours of service, safety and comfort, and cost become the sole determinants in selecting a child care provider (Helburn and Bergmann 2002). Research finds, however, that quality care can have a positive, albeit modest, effect on a child's cognitive and social development, even after controlling for the child's home environment (Burchinal 1999). For children from disadvantaged homes, quality child care is one more way of helping them become "school

While most people agree that quality child care is desirable, it also is expensive. One estimate for a high-quality, two-year program costing about $8,000 annually per child would total about $30 billion per year if limited to families with incomes below $30,000 (Sawhill 1999). The federal government currently spends about $4.3 billion per year on

Head Start. However, families, not government, generally pay for child care expenses. One estimate is that families pay an annual cost of $5,000 for a preschool child and $6,100 for infants or toddlers in a child care center (Morris 1999). Fees in family arrangements are somewhat lower, averaging about $4,500 for preschoolers and $4,800 for infants or toddlers. These costs can be prohibitive for low-income and poor families. Government has implemented subsidy programs to help low-income families to pay their child care expenses, but the demand for these programs is higher than the supply of government-subsidized slots (Helburn and Bergmann 2002). Increasing the supply of high-quality child care that is affordable for low-income parents is at the heart of current public policy debates. How to do this within a market economy, without undue regulatory burden, adds to the complexity of the challenge.

Supply Issues

Low wages, long hours, and few benefits make child care an unattractive occupation for many potential workers. The median wage for child care workers was $7.43 per hour in 2000, which is roughly equivalent to the typical wage of a hotel bellhop, not including tips (Occupational Employment Statistics 2001). Findings from a U.S. government survey suggest that only 17 out of 774 occupations had lower average earnings than early education and child care workers in 1998 (Nelson 2001). Although the typical salary of child care workers grew by nearly 8 percent between 1999 and 2000, child care workers still earn roughly 10 percent less than other employees in personal service industries (OES 2001).

In addition to receiving low wages, child care workers often work long hours. Many work 50 or more hours per week with children, plus spend additional time shopping

for supplies, cleaning classrooms, and preparing activities. Relatively few child care workers receive benefits. Despite high exposure to illness, less than one-third of child care centers provide fully paid health insurance (Whitebook 1999). Although some centers provide partial coverage, research suggests that many workers do not participate in these plans because they cannot afford the premium (Ginsburg, Gabel, and Hunt 1998). Few centers offer pension plans (Whitebook and Burton 1996).

With relatively low pay, long hours, and limited benefit coverage, it is not surprising that staff turnover is high in the child care industry. More than one-third of child care workers leave their jobs each year to seek better employment opportunities in other occupations. Many child care workers who have the requisite educational credentials are attracted to kindergartens and elementary schools where pay scales are higher, hours more consistent, and benefits more generous. As a result, high turnover rates can undermine the quality of care received by young children (Whitebook and Bellm 1998; Whitebook, Sakai, Gerber, and Howes 2001).

Despite numerous regulatory initiatives, policymakers have been unable to reconcile the mismatch between supply and demand in the child care industry. While government regulation can promote quality child care, there are many complexities and trade-offs in this approach (Gormley 1999). First, the responsibility for regulating child care resides with the states and produces a wide array of licensing standards. Second, the child care industry is very diverse, comprised of nonprofit and for-profit providers, in-home and center-based care, and care by relatives and nonrelatives. This diversity of care arrangements is not conducive to a one-size-fits-all policy or regulatory approach. Third, attempts to improve quality can undermine the availability and affordability of care,

particularly for low- and moderate-income families. Finally, the enforcement of regulatory standards is as problematic as the initial challenge of formulating standards to produce good quality care (Gazan 1998).

POLICY RESPONSES ACROSS THE STATES

While the mismatch between the demand for care and the supply of quality care remains a persistent problem, states have substantially increased their spending on child care since 1996 (Layzer and Collins 2000). Much of the new funding comes from federal programs such as TANF and CCDF and goes toward child care subsidies to make the cost of care more affordable for low-income families. However, states have also begun to address the supply side of the child care equation (see table 1).

To improve quality, about half of the states by early 2002 had begun professional development programs to improve the qualifications and skills of current child care workers. These initiatives focus on the quality of care and do not necessarily improve the wages and benefits of child care workers (Twombly et al. 2001). On the other hand, 12 states had developed a strategy to increase child care worker compensation directly through either better access to employee benefit programs (particularly health insurance) or improved wages. These policies generally promote a combination of goals, including improved quality and supply of care, better training and retention of child care workers, and higher compensation for workers.

Table 1. States' Initiatives to Improve Child Care Quality and Worker Compensation

	Quality measures			Direct compensation	
State	**Mentoring or training**	**Professional development**	**Reimbursement rate improvements**	**Employee benefits**	**Wage increments**
Alabama					
Alaska					
Arizona		X	X		
Arkansas			X		
California	X	X		X	X
Colorado	X	X	X		
Connecticut		X	X		
Delaware	X				
District of Columbia	X				
Florida	X	X	X		
Georgia		X			X
Hawaii					
Idaho		X			
Illinois	X	X			X
Indiana		X			
Iowa		X			
Kansas		X			
Kentucky	X		X		
Louisiana	X				
Maine		X			X
Maryland				X	
Massachusetts	X		X		
Michigan	X			X	
Minnesota	X	X	X		
Mississippi			X		
Missouri		X			
Montana		X			
Nebraska	X		X		
Nevada		X			
New Hampshire		X			
New Jersey	X		X		
New Mexico			X		
New York		X			X
North Carolina		X	X	X	X
North Dakota	X				
Ohio	X				
Oklahoma	X	X	X		
Oregon		X			
Pennsylvania	X	X			
Rhode Island			X	X	
South Carolina		X	X		
South Dakota	X	X			
Tennessee		X	X		
Texas	X				X
Utah		X			
Vermont			X		
Virginia		X			
Washington		X			X
West Virginia	X				
Wisconsin	X	X	X		X
Wyoming		X			

Source: Twombly et al. 2001, updated. State Initiatives to Increase Compensation for Child Care Workers.

Despite an emerging interest in child care worker compensation issues, these policy remedies tend to be limited in scope and outreach. Many compensation initiatives are demonstration projects, operating in a few counties, not statewide. The initiatives seldom cover all types of child care providers and typically focus on center-based care. State funding to launch these efforts is often relatively small.

Nevertheless, the range of policy initiatives illustrates the creative approaches that policymakers and child advocates are using to address the perplexing question of how to better compensate child care workers. The remainder of this report focuses on how child advocates have moved the issue of child care worker compensation forward in the public policy arena.

SELECTION OF STUDY SITES AND METHODOLOGY

Drawing on the review of state initiatives (Twombly et al. 2001), three sites (Georgia, Massachusetts, and Washington) were selected for detailed case study investigations. These states are geographically dispersed and represent different socioeconomic and political environments. They also had initiated programs or had active campaigns to increase child care worker compensation. Advocates used different policy tactics and were at different stages in their advocacy work. Georgia, for example, has several programs that are intended to raise wages, such as the Georgia Early Learning Initiative (GELI), Advancing Careers through Education and Training (ACET), and Teacher Education and Compensation Help (TEACH). Arguably the best-known program in Georgia is its Universal Pre-Kindergarten (Pre-K) program. The Pre-K program was designed to provide quality early education to children, but an unintended consequence of the program

has been to raise standards and wages for early education teachers. Washington State also uses the TEACH program, but is best known for its innovative "career ladder," which closely ties professional development to wage increases for center-based workers. Massachusetts has several indirect strategies to boost child care worker compensation through training and mentoring programs and increases in provider reimbursement rates, but no direct strategy to address child care worker compensation issues. These three states, with their mix of policy approaches, provided an opportunity to examine the similarities and differences of advocacy campaigns on child care worker compensation issues.

We identified locally based researchers in each state to conduct the on-site field work, and asked them to develop a list of key players in their states who participated in the development of or deliberations on initiatives to provide better child care worker compensation. The lists included child advocates, child care providers, legislators or their staff, government officials, and labor and business leaders. The initial lists were expanded during the course of the study as additional groups or individuals were identified as key players in the advocacy process.

In collaboration with the local research fellows and a national advisory committee, we developed a semi-structured interview guide (see appendix A). It contained a core set of questions for all interviewees, and follow-up questions to probe for additional information on the types of advocacy strategies used to affect policy changes, the challenges and barriers faced by advocates in the policymaking process, and the lessons learned from these advocacy efforts. The interviews also sought information on the presence, composition, and strength of coalitions that formed around this issue, and

whether labor unions and parents were involved in the advocacy efforts. The interview protocol was flexible so that it could be adapted to different types of respondents (such as legislators, child advocates, or business leaders).

The interview protocols were field tested in spring 2001, and interviews were conducted between June and August 2001. Eighty interviews were completed in the three states, or approximately 25 to 30 per state. In addition to the survey information, the research fellows collected background information on the socioeconomic and political characteristics of their states from federal and state government agencies and local newspapers. The material was used to describe the social, political, and economic conditions in which the initiatives on child care worker compensation developed. Copies of the state reports can be found at the Urban Institute web site (http://www.urban.org/advocacyresearch/childcare-workerscomp.html) and the Foundation for Child Development web site (http://www.ffcd.org/ourwork.htm).

THE POLICY ENVIRONMENT

Demographic, economic, and political factors play an important role in creating the policy environment in which child advocates work. They are likely to influence what issues are heard, what policy options are considered, and what remedies are politically viable. While none of these factors alone is likely to dictate policy outcomes, together they create an important context in which an issue such as child care worker compensation is raised.

Demographic Characteristics

According to the 2000 census, Georgia, Massachusetts, and Washington have large and growing populations (see table 2). With populations between 6 million and 8 million, they

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rank among the 15 most populous states in the country. Georgia and Washington also are two of the fastest growing states. Between 1990 and 2000, Georgia's population grew by 26.4 percent, and Washington's population increased by 21.1 percent—both far ahead of the national average of 13.2 percent. Massachusetts, on the other hand, experienced much slower growth, increasing by 5.5 percent during the decade.

Table 2. Population Characteristics in Georgia, Massachusetts, Washington, and the United States

Population numbers in thousands.

Indicators	Georgia	Massachusetts	Washington	United States
Total population, 2000	8,186	6,349	5,894	281,422
Percentage change 1990–2000	26.4	5.5	21.1	13.2
Children under age 5 in 2000				
Number	595	397	394	19,176
Percent of total population	7.3	6.3	6.7	6.8
Percent of children under age 6 living with working parents, 1997	73	69	66	66

Sources: KIDS COUNT 2000; U.S. Census Bureau 2000.

As table 2 also shows, there are approximately 400,000 to 600,000 young children (under age 5) in each of the three states—a factor that influences the potential demand for child care. Young children represent just over 7 percent of Georgia's population (slightly above the national average of 6.8 percent), whereas the share of preschoolers in Massachusetts (6.3 percent) and Washington (6.7 percent) is somewhat lower.

In all three states, at least two-thirds of the young children live with parents who work outside the home. In Georgia, the share is closer to three-quarters. Although not a perfect predictor of the demand for child care, the share of children with working parents provides a reasonable proxy for the potential need for child care, at least during those

times when parents are at work. From a demographic perspective, the three study sites are fairly typical of state norms of size and share of the state's child population and the share of children living with working parents.

Economic Conditions

Like the nation as a whole, the economy of each of the three sites showed growth during the 1990s. Georgia, in particular, experienced an economic boom. Since 1969, Georgia has had the second fastest per capita income growth in the country, according to the U.S. Census Bureau. Even Washington, which for many years was heavily affected by the business cycles of the Boeing Corporation, has to some degree smoothed out its economic ups and downs by the growth of the high-tech sector.

But the prosperity of the 1990s did not benefit all economic sectors and geographic areas. Urban areas benefited more than rural ones from the economic growth in the high-tech, trade, and service sectors. The difference is most striking in Washington, where unemployment in nonmetropolitan areas is almost 70 percent higher than in the metropolitan areas (see table 3). The metro-nonmetro pattern can also be seen in Georgia, which, like Washington, has a large agricultural component to its economy.

Table 3. Unemployment Rates in Georgia, Massachusetts, and Washington, 1999 and 2000

	Georgia		Massachusetts		Washington	
Location	**1999**	**2000**	**1999**	**2000**	**1999**	**2000**
State	4.0	3.7	3.2	2.6	4.7	5.2
Metropolitan areas	3.5	3.3	3.2	2.6	4.3	4.7
Nonmetropolitan areas	5.2	4.8	3.0	2.5	7.3	7.9

Source: U.S. Department of Agriculture 2001.

The booming stock market and the new wealth of the high-tech entrepreneurs expanded the pool of philanthropic dollars in the economy. Private foundations and individual philanthropists in all three states increased their financial support for community-based services, including child care. In Massachusetts, for example, several progressive private foundations consulted with advocates to identify critical issues to fund, resulting in an infusion of dollars toward organizing efforts around the issue of child care worker compensation. The robust economy of the late 1990s created a favorable platform on which to discuss child care worker compensation issues.

Child Care Industry

The child care industry has a wide range of providers that includes both formal and informal, paid and unpaid care arrangements. Among the issues facing the industry and its potential patrons are the availability of care, the cost (or affordability) of care, and the quality of care. All of these factors were evident in the three study sites.

Availability

Although parents use a variety of child care settings and arrangements, almost half (48 percent) of children under age 5 with employed mothers receive care in child care centers and family child care homes (Capizzano, Adams, and Sonenstein 2000). Demand for care often outpaces the availability of licensed slots. Using data from the Capizzano et al. study, there are an estimated 157,600 young children with employed mothers who currently are in child care centers and family child care homes, but according to the Washington State Child Care Resource and Referral Network (2000), there are 149,617 licensed child care slots in Washington, suggesting that some children are receiving care in unlicensed centers and homes. A study conducted in 1997 by the Massachusetts Child

Care Resource and Referral Network (1998) estimated that licensed facilities met only 40 percent of child care needs in the state.

Cost and Affordability

The cost of child care often comprises a significant share of a family's budget (see table 4). For example, the average cost of center-based care for a preschool child (age 4) ranges from approximately $5,000 in Georgia to over $8,000 in Massachusetts, and the average cost for infant care is somewhat higher. A family of four earning $62,200 (the national median income in 2000) with an infant and a preschooler in care would spend anywhere from one-fifth to one-third of its annual income on child care. Such costs would take a bigger bite out of a lower-income family budget.

Table 4. Average Annual Cost of Child Care, 2000

Average cost for	Georgia	Massachusetts	Washington
Infant	$6,032	$12,978	$7,696
Preschool child (age 4)	$4,992	$8,121	$6,604
Percent of family income*	18	34	23

Source: Children's Defense Fund 2001.
*Assumes that the family's annual income is at the national median for a family of four ($62,200) and that the family has one infant and one preschooler (4-year-old) in care.

To make these costs more affordable for low-income parents, states use federal and state funds to reimburse providers for their services. Two types of payment mechanisms are used: contracts and vouchers. In a contracted system, the state agency signs contracts with private providers to supply child care services to subsidy-eligible families. Under this system, providers can negotiate their reimbursement rate within a designated cap (generally below the 75th percentile of the local market rate), and states

can obligate providers to certain terms, such as receiving a particular number of children or raising child care workers' salaries. In a voucher system, families that receive the voucher choose the provider that suits their needs. Providers bill the state agency for the value of the voucher, and parents generally make a copayment based on a sliding-fee schedule. There is evidence that some providers are unwilling to serve children receiving child care subsidies because of the delay on the payments and the paperwork required, as well as because of the uncertainty that the family maintains their eligibility for the child care subsidy (Adams and Rohacek 2002). Vouchers are used in all three sites in this study, but Massachusetts also uses a contract system.

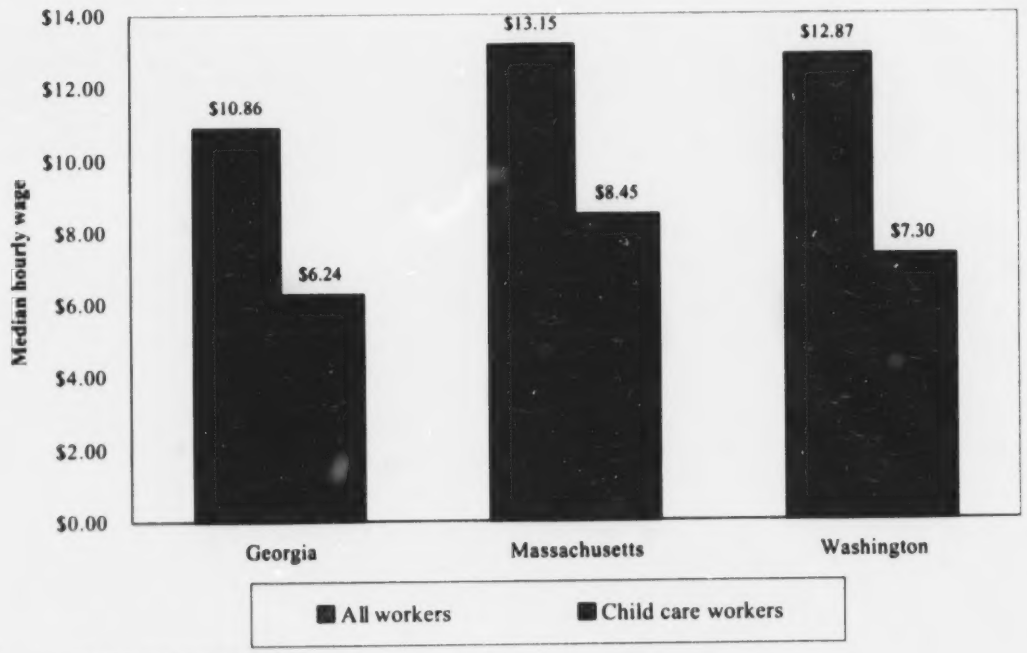
Although public funds are available to help subsidize the cost of care, there are still many families who qualify for help but are not receiving it. According to the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services (2000), in 1999, only 8 percent of children eligible for federal child care assistance in Georgia received help, as did 13 percent in Massachusetts and 15 percent in Washington.

Quality and Hourly Wages

One of the most important predictors of quality in child care programs is the presence of qualified and well-paid staff (Whitebook et al. 2001). Median hourly wages of child care workers in all three sites are below state averages for all workers (see figure 1). In Georgia and Washington, the median hourly wage of child care workers in 1998 was about 40 percent lower than the median for all workers. In Georgia, child care workers made $6.24 per hour, compared with $10.86 for all workers. In Washington, the median for child care workers was $7.30 per hour compared with $12.87 for all workers (KIDS

COUNT 2000). Of the three states, Massachusetts reported the highest median hourly wage for both child care workers and all workers, and proportionally the smallest gap between child care workers' salaries and those of all workers. Child care workers in Massachusetts made $8.45 per hour (or approximately $17,500 per year), compared with $13.15 for all workers—a 35 percent wage gap.

Figure 1. Median Hourly Wages in Georgia, Massachusetts, and Washington, 1998



Source: *KIDS COUNT* 2000.

Because of the low wages and benefits in the child care industry, trained and experienced child care workers are exiting the field for better-paying jobs in other industries. Unions have begun to play a more active and prominent role in addressing these wage and worker issues. Organizing child care workers is difficult, however, because of

the small scale of most child care establishments and the generally high staff turnover in the child care industry.

Child care workers are not well organized nationwide, and only 4 percent of the child care workforce is unionized (Whitebook 1999). Unions have been fairly active in both Massachusetts and Washington. Represented by the United Auto Workers (UAW) and Services Employees International Union (SEIU), more than 40 child care sites in Massachusetts are unionized, with over 1,000 child care workers now union members. The union movement among child care workers in Washington is much smaller, but it gained momentum by the end of the 1990s. The Seattle Worthy Wages campaign and SEIU 925 worked together to advance child care worker compensation issues, with 12 centers (or 150 workers) forming a Child Care Guild. The Guild, in turn, helped to promote the Career Development Ladder. These union efforts also had a spillover effect on other parts of the industry. Today, there are approximately 1,500 child care workers from nonunionized centers who also benefit from the ladder funds.

Political Environment

Because child advocates operate in political environments and for constituencies that are ever changing, their ability to adapt to changing conditions is a key factor for moving their agendas forward (National Association of Child Advocates 2001). Child advocates in Georgia, Massachusetts, and Washington tend to assess environmental factors from two primary perspectives: political leadership and funding opportunities. In each state, there was a desire to build legislative interest in child care issues, leverage the power structures of the state's legislative and administrative branches, and capitalize on the policy opportunities inherent in the 1996 federal welfare reforms.

Political Leadership

Child care issues have not been a front-burner political issue in recent years, and many child advocates from the three sites believe that it is difficult to get their agendas heard by political candidates and elected officials. Other issues, such as traffic congestion, air quality, and taxes, take precedence over the welfare of child care workers or the industry as a whole. Some interviewees believed that this lack of interest may stem, in part, from a lack of knowledge about what child care workers do or the importance of child care to working families, or it may reflect underlying values on women's roles in society and the workplace.

Many child care advocates, particularly in Georgia and Massachusetts, also point to structural barriers in the state legislatures. Many legislators, especially those who are in positions of legislative leadership, are older, white men who have no personal point of reference for the importance of the child care industry or for meeting the needs of its workers. Because they are not receptive to child care concerns, they sometimes table, derail, or otherwise stall child care proposals. According to some child care advocates in Massachusetts, for example, the speaker of the house, who has considerable control over the legislative process, has made it very difficult to pass progressive child care legislation. Although he supports pay increases for teachers, he does not view child care workers as teachers, but as "baby-sitters."

Because child care advocates tend to lack strong champions in state legislatures, the governor's leadership seems to be an important determinant in the development of initiatives that affect child care worker compensation and quality of care (Twombly et al. 2001). In Georgia, Governor Zell Miller (D) led the fight to institute a universal and

voluntary pre-kindergarten program for all 4-year-olds in the state. In Washington, Governor Gary Locke (D) supported the Child Care Workers Career Ladder Initiative, although his primary emphasis was on K–12 and higher education concerns. In Massachusetts, child advocates believe they lost a "friend" when Governor Michael Dukakis (D) left office and a series of Republican governors came to power. Under Dukakis, various stakeholders convened to identify child care policy issues, and several reforms were instituted as a result, including a three-year increase in child care workers' wages. Under subsequent Republican administrations, child care issues in Massachusetts have been given a low priority.

Although Democrats are reputedly more predisposed than Republicans to support social legislation such as child care programs, party affiliation may be less of a factor than political philosophy. Each of the three sites represents a different mix of political party alignments. In Georgia, for example, both the legislature and the executive branch are controlled by Democrats. In Massachusetts, the legislature is under Democratic leadership and the executive branch is controlled by Republicans. In Washington, the legislature is evenly split between Democrats and Republicans, and the governor is a Democrat. Yet the ability to move a child care agenda remains difficult under each of these scenarios. As discussed below, how issues are framed and how political alliances are forged play a greater role than political party affiliation in getting child care worker issues on the public policy agenda.

Funding Opportunities

The 1996 federal welfare reform legislation presented child advocates with an opportunity to push forward issues on child care programs. First, the new legislation gave the state

governments considerable flexibility in developing child care programs and policies to meet the needs of children and parents in their states. Second, it provided a new source of money—the Temporary Assistance for Needy Families (TANF)—to expand and improve child care services.

Like all states, Georgia, Massachusetts, and Washington have used TANF funds to address child care issues, but each of these states developed different programs and strategies to improve the access, affordability, and quality of child care. Georgia uses TANF money to fund training programs for child care workers. Massachusetts uses TANF money for its reimbursement rate program. In Washington, the state's Career Development Ladder was underwritten with TANF funds. Of the three states, the Washington Career Development Ladder most directly affects the wages and benefits of child care workers.

MAJOR INITIATIVES

The initiatives described below represent several of the major policy approaches that interviewees identified as prominent models within their states. (Descriptions of other initiatives on child care worker compensation efforts can be found in the individual site reports at http://www.urban.org/advocacyresearch/childcare-workerscomp.html and http://www.ffcd.org/ourwork.htm.) Some of these approaches are well-established programs that are commonly used in a number of states, not just the three study sites; others are newer undertakings that have been implemented over the past few years and consequently do not have a sufficient track record to indicate their long-term sustainability or outcomes. At least one approach is still being formulated, but the scope and

prominence of this initiative within the state make it an important model for examining advocacy strategies.

Strategies Developed prior to 1995

At least three initiatives cited in this study—reimbursement rates, Voluntary Pre-K, and TEACH—are all methods that predate the mid-1990s and have had some impact on the compensation of child care workers.

Reimbursement Rates

Although most states use voucher programs, Massachusetts is one of the few states to use both vouchers and provider-based contracts to provide child care subsidies to low-income families. Although these approaches give providers some economic incentive for enrolling low-income children in their programs, the level of reimbursement received from the state generally does not cover the full cost of care nor is the rate typically earmarked for workers' compensation.

In an effort to improve child care quality and secure better wages for child care workers, Massachusetts child advocates with links to the Worthy Wage Campaign mounted an effort in 1997 called "Fair Rates, Fair Wages" to press for reimbursement rate increases that could be used for wage increases for child care workers. The campaign was successful in getting the Office of Child Care Services (OCCS) to increase its reimbursement rates to those providers under the contracted system, thereby ending a rate freeze that had lasted for roughly eight years, but it did not win the proviso to link this additional money to workers' wages. Although critics of this campaign point out that the potential wage increase was too small to make a real difference in attracting and retaining workers, and that the policy applied only to centers with state contracts, almost all child

advocates in Massachusetts acknowledge that the higher reimbursement rates have made an incremental difference in the quality of some child care programs.

Universal and Voluntary Pre-K Programs

Georgia was an early leader in the universal and voluntary pre-kindergarten (Pre-K) movement. The program was a centerpiece of Governor Zell Miller's gubernatorial campaign. Georgia's Pre-K program began serving only low-income children in public facilities, but in 1995 after Miller was elected to a second term, he announced that Pre-K eligibility requirements would be dropped. All 4-year-olds in the state could attend the state's Pre-K program. In just one year, the demand for the program almost tripled—from serving 15,500 low-income students during the 1994–1995 school year to serving 44,000 4-year-olds during the 1995–1996 school year (Raden 1999).

This expansion led to a significant increase in demand for both classrooms and teachers. Many types of child care facilities, including for-profit child care centers, became eligible to house state-funded Pre-K classrooms. At the same time, the Pre-K funding formulas created an incentive for Pre-K grantees to hire well-qualified teachers and for teachers to obtain advanced certification. The Pre-K program recommended that salaries be tied to the teacher's credentials and, over time, these salary ranges became benchmarked to the salaries of public school teachers. As a result, many experienced and well-educated child care center directors have left the child care industry to become qualified Pre-K classroom teachers. Consequently, the exodus of well-qualified child care providers to the Pre-K classrooms has put additional pressure on the child care industry to seek remedies to attract and retain teachers and center directors who can work with very young children. GELI (described below) is one approach for addressing this dilemma.

Teacher Education and Compensation Help (TEACH)

Developed in North Carolina in 1990, TEACH provides scholarships to child care workers and directors of child care centers to increase their educational credentials. TEACH is the most pervasive compensation initiative in the United States and has been implemented by 17 states, including Georgia and Washington. Working with a state or local nonprofit group that administers the program, TEACH initially seeks funding through local foundations and corporations. The program typically begins on a small scale in several pilot communities and later expands to more jurisdictions, more scholarships, and public sector funding.

Child care teachers, directors, and family child care providers are all eligible for the TEACH program, but child care center employees must be sponsored by their center. Participants receive scholarships to work toward earning an associate degree in Child Development and Education or credentials as a Child Development Associate or Administrator (CDA), or a CDA equivalent. After obtaining their credential or degree, TEACH participants are supposed to receive a 3 to 5 percent salary increase or an annual bonus, plus health insurance, if they remain with the sponsoring center for an additional year. The actual compensation increase that is awarded varies from place to place. Empirical data on the program's efficacy is spotty or lacking, but data from TEACH in North Carolina suggests that as compensation increases, staff turnover declines. A follow-up study to this work by the Urban Institute will investigate how the TEACH model has spread to and been developed by other states.

Initiatives since the Mid-1990s

Among the newer initiatives used by states to address child care worker compensation are the Career Development Ladder in Washington State and GELI in Georgia.

Career Development Ladder

The idea of a career ladder whereby child care workers can advance their skills, increase their pay, and map a course of professional development is a fairly new concept. Advocates in Washington, led by John Burbank of the Economic Opportunity Institute (EOI), began to develop this model in the early 1990s and introduced the idea to the state legislature mid-decade. Simply stated, the Career Development Ladder links specific wage increments to increased education, experience, and responsibility of child care workers. Two pilot programs based on the "Child Care Worker Career Development Ladder" were passed and implemented in Washington in 1999 and 2000. The pilots are funded through a combination of tax dollars and TANF reinvestment funds.

The King County pilot requires that participating centers provide either collective bargaining or a benefit package that includes health insurance, paid leave, a retirement plan, and a grievance procedure. It also offers limited training for participating teachers and center directors. Recent cuts in the King County budget have limited this pilot to a one-year, five-center effort.

The statewide Early Childhood Education Career Development Ladder, which includes about 125 centers, operates under a somewhat different model. It requires centers to adopt the wage levels and increments specified in an experience-education formula, provide a minimum of 10 days of paid leave each year, provide access to the Basic Health Plan, and pay at least $25 per month toward employees' health care coverage. Currently,

the experience-education wage scale calls for assistants with no experience and a high school diploma to be paid $7.20 per hour; program supervisors with a master's degree and five years of experience would receive $13.95 per hour (EOI 2002). In addition to these compensation requirements, centers are required to enroll low-income (subsidized) children into at least 10 percent of their child care slots and establish a quality of care committee.

The Georgia Early Learning Initiative (GELI)

The Georgia Early Learning Initiative (GELI) is regarded as a partnership or collaboration among the United Way of Metropolitan Atlanta, the Whitehead Foundation, and the Georgia governor's office. It brings together interested stakeholders, including nonprofit and for-profit providers, the governor's office, state agencies, business leaders, and child care advocates. Marie Barnes, first lady of Georgia, serves as honorary chair of GELI. The United Way houses and administers the initiative, and the Whitehead Foundation provided start-up funds and ongoing support. In 2001, the Georgia legislature appropriated $4.5 million for two years to GELI, using state and federal revenues.

GELI is a multifaceted program that seeks to improve the quality of early education and child care in Georgia. Three of the seven recommendations that GELI put forward to the governor's office in 2001 involved child care workers' compensation: (1) linking child care worker credentials to compensation, (2) tiered reimbursement rates for centers, and (3) training and technical assistance to help providers receive accreditation. The GELI agenda includes funding for the TEACH program (described above).

GELI currently operates in the five counties of metropolitan Atlanta, and is open only to centers and workers whose student base includes at least 25 percent subsidized children. Some critics of GELI point out that the program does not benefit rural areas of Georgia, where the problems of accessibility and quality of care are considerable.

Initiatives Still Being Drafted

Although there are several initiatives under way in Massachusetts, the one that received considerable attention at the time of our field work was the Early Education for All Campaign. This model, as currently structured, is described below.

Early Education for All Campaign

The Early Education for All Campaign in Massachusetts is a statewide campaign aimed at building support for universal access to early education for all children ages 3, 4, and 5. It has focused its efforts on building consensus for universal early education among myriad players, including representatives from business, labor, religious institutions, state government, an educational advocacy group representing Latinos, private foundations, children's advocates, and child care providers. The campaign planned to file a bill with the state legislature in November 2001, outlining its proposed policy initiatives, but postponed this action in light of the September 11 terrorist attacks and the weakening state economy. Although the exact details of the draft legislation are still not known, it is expected to address the need for better child care worker training and compensation. The Campaign is regarded as one of the broadest based and far-ranging efforts to address the issue of quality child care in Massachusetts in the past decade. In March 2001, the leaders incorporated the operations of the Campaign into a newly formed 501(c)(3) nonprofit organization called Strategies for Children.

FRAMING THE ISSUE

How an issue is framed and presented to the public and legislators is a crucial component in an advocacy campaign. As Rosenbaum and Sonosky (2001) suggest, experienced advocates seek "saleable remedies," that is, they try to craft a solution that will generate broad support for their position and increase the likelihood of passage.

In their efforts to secure better compensation for child care workers, advocates often assert that child care is physically demanding work and that child care providers are among the lowest paid workers in the labor force. While this is useful information for educating policymakers, such arguments are not sufficient to persuade them to take action that would affect the wages and benefits of specifically defined groups of workers (for example, child care workers versus home health workers). Although better compensation for child care workers may be a worthy goal, policy remedies to accomplish this end directly have not been politically viable. Instead, advocates in the three sites framed their arguments for better compensation around the issue of better quality of care for children. Quality of care was the universal policy message used in all three sites. However, to respond to the environmental and political realities of their states, advocates of the initiatives described above framed their arguments quite differently.

Quality Child Care Attracts Economic Development

Advocates in Georgia found that they increased their chances of success if child care quality (and thus child care worker compensation issues) were linked to economic development arguments. Two main policy initiatives were introduced during the past decade using the economic development frame.

In the early 1990s, political leaders in Georgia were very interested in attracting new business investments to the state, but corporations were reluctant to move to Georgia, in part because of its relatively poor educational system. Seizing on the need for economic development, Zell Miller based his 1990 campaign for governor on the issue of improving Georgia's educational system, including its preschool programs. As a result, Georgia instituted one of the nation's first universal Pre-K programs for all 4-year-olds in the state. Compensation for Pre-K teachers quickly became linked to the salary and benefit structures for public education teachers.

Almost a decade later, another policy initiative, GELI used an economic development message to frame its efforts to improve the quality of child care in Georgia. The United Way of Metropolitan Atlanta and the Whitehead Foundation decided that involving the business and political communities in child care initiatives would be a key to the programs' success and long-term impact. By working collaboratively with child advocates, business leaders and government officials would be investing in not only the well-being of Georgia's children but also the job skills of Georgia's future labor market.

Although economic arguments have helped promote legislation to improve the quality of child care services, they also have been used to defeat proposed legislation. In the early 1990s, when a bill to raise the salaries of child care workers was introduced in the state legislature, a group representing for-profit providers was able to organize and mobilize parents against the proposed bill. Because for-profit child care centers provide the majority of center-based care in Georgia, they have considerable influence in the state legislature. Providers sent letters to parents stating that if the bill passed, parents would have to pay higher fees for services. Using this negative frame, child care providers in

Georgia convinced parents who were unable or unwilling to pay higher child care fees to speak out against the proposed legislation.

Quality Child Care Can Be Achieved through Professional Development

In Washington, advocates used a professional development frame to advance compensation issues. Under this frame, proponents assert that the child care industry has difficulty attracting and retaining trained and qualified workers because the industry's current wages cannot purchase and reward a sufficiently skilled workforce. Better pay and career advancement, they argue, would reduce the high turnover rate in the child care industry and give better continuity of care. The proposed remedy was a career ladder whereby child care workers receive regular salary increases based upon additional increments of experience, education, and responsibility level.

The professional development frame can take several forms. In Massachusetts, a proposal called the Quality Aid Bill, introduced by Senator David Magnani (D) in the 1999–2000 legislative session, would provide funds directly to centers that focus on quality improvements. Much like the Washington model, the Quality Aid Bill includes the development of a "career lattice" tied to salary increases. Wages would rise with experience and training to about $30,000 per year for a child care teacher. Centers would be encouraged to serve at least 20 percent low-income families in their programs and to work toward accreditation.

Other advocacy groups in Washington State also used a professional development frame, but offer a different policy remedy (namely, TEACH) to reduce staff turnover and increase quality. The program is funded with support from the Washington Early Learning Foundation. Critics of this approach think that TEACH is not an effective mechanism for

improving compensation because it generally offers bonuses rather than permanent wage increases.

Despite disagreement over specific remedies (that is, bonuses versus wage increases), child advocates tend to agree that the professional development of the child care workforce through training, education, and better compensation is an important and necessary step. It will improve the quality of child care services, enhance the public's image of child care providers as trained professionals, and send a signal to current and potential workers that child care is a respected and worthwhile career path.

Quality Child Care Enhances Children's Educational Development

Advocates in Massachusetts who are spearheading the Early Education for All Campaign are building their arguments around an educational frame, stressing better outcomes for children. Good child care and early education, they argue, prepare children for school. Because quality child care is more than a baby-sitting service and provides children with their first learning opportunities, child care staff need more training and better compensation. This strategy is based on the effects that quality child care has on the child's development and the positive outcomes that it produces.

This approach was crafted, in part, because of the findings from public opinion polls commissioned by the Early Education for All Campaign. In a telephone survey of registered voters, they found public education ranked among the top five voter concerns, whereas child care was not a high priority among voters. As a result, the Campaign has cast the issue as universal early education for young children and sees improved child care worker compensation as a way to achieve quality care.

Quality Child Care Is Linked to Wage and Equity Issues

Another advocacy frame is based on the concepts of living wages and equitable treatment. Advocates who use this frame argue that the low wage rates of child care workers do not provide an incentive to attract and retain well-qualified workers. The low wages also do not provide for basic living standards, and the wage gap between child care workers and other professionals is unjustified. Early education teachers, for example, are paid less than public school teachers even though they have similar responsibilities and, in some cases, similar credentials.

Wage and equity arguments are used by Living Wage and Worthy Wage advocates—groups that have a strong presence in many states, including Massachusetts and Washington. Such campaigns typically advocate on behalf of *all* low-wage workers, arguing that any full-time worker should earn a wage rate that at least provides for a basic living standard. In Boston, the Living Wage Campaign successfully won passage of a city ordinance whereby, starting July 2002, all contractors, including child care providers, who employ 25 or more people and have a contract of $25,000 or more with the City of Boston, will pay their workers at or above the "living wage" rate, which currently is $10.25 per hour. Passage of the ordinance is a significant step forward for living wage advocates, but it is unclear how many child care workers will actually benefit from the ordinance because most child care establishments are small and likely to fall under the requisite requirements for compliance. One estimate is that perhaps 30 to 40 of the larger child care centers will be affected by this ordinance. Opposition to the ordinance is mounting, however. Provider groups are organizing to seek a general waiver for all child care providers from the Boston living wage ordinance.

KEY PLAYERS AND STRUCTURAL STRATEGIES

There are many individuals and organizations working to improve the quality of child care and the compensation of child care workers—child advocacy organizations, private foundations, public policymakers, government officials, unions, for-profit and nonprofit child care providers, and concerned parents. In each of the sites, a key individual or organization emerged, however, to lead and shape the issue and the advocacy process.

Interestingly, no formal coalitions emerged in any of the sites to sustain a long-term policy campaign. As described below, there are many examples of informal coalitions, collaborations, networks, or partnerships in which groups worked together to promote better compensation for child care workers, but no evidence of formal coalitions where money and resources are pooled to support the coalition's advocacy activities to access and influence policymakers (Hula 1999). This finding provides some support for Berry's (2001) hypothesis that state and local advocacy groups do not need to build the kinds of formal coalitions that are sometimes observed in national advocacy campaigns because, comparatively, state and local policymakers are more accessible than national policymakers to their constituents and advocacy groups.

The following section describes in more detail the key players in each state and the structural arrangements that were used to promote child care worker compensation issues. To be sure, influential and powerful political elites were instrumental in advancing this issue, but the story that emerges in each state suggests slightly different advocacy models. The Georgia experience illustrates the development of cross-sector networks and partnerships among key institutional players. In Washington, a new advocacy organization built a powerful board of directors that brought together influential political elites and a

cross-section of diverse interests. In Massachusetts, the Early Education for All Campaign is organized much like a political campaign that aims to build grassroots support among diverse constituency groups while at the same time positioning its message to be heard in the legislative chambers.

Georgia: Cross-Sector Networks and Partnerships

In Georgia, the governor led the fight to create a universal pre-K system for all 4-year-olds in the state. As noted above, his primary motivation was to attract business to the state and promote economic development. This led to a top-down style of policymaking and advocacy. The governor's office formulated the program and then "sold" it to the legislature, state agencies, and local communities. Although tensions between state officials and local providers emerged, a very important partnership developed that resulted in the Georgia Early Learning Initiative (GELI).

As noted earlier, the United Way of Metropolitan Atlanta, the Whitehead Foundation, and the governor's office created a partnership to lead discussions about initiatives to improve child care quality in the state. The partnership established ad hoc committees as a strategy to work with other key players and stakeholders in the design of the GELI initiative. The committees recommended three programs on compensation issues that would be supported by GELI: (1) training and technical assistance toward accreditation, (2) tiered reimbursements, and (3) an incentive program for teachers based on credentials and tenure.

The partnership also built consensus for these programs through a network of policymakers, foundations, business leaders, and nonprofit organizations, and asked the network to support these initiatives during the legislative session. GELI educated key

businessmen who could influence the state's legislators to support the initiative. It also held public forums around the state to generate general support, and by all accounts, the first lady of Georgia, Marie Barnes, played a very important role lobbying legislators for the initiative.

After the GELI initiative received funding in the 2001 legislative session, the members of the partnership more clearly delineated their roles. The United Way of Metropolitan Atlanta houses and administers the program; first lady Marie Barnes serves as honorary chairperson of GELI; and the Whitehead Foundation continues to fund GELI's activities. Presumably, the business community will be asked to continue its financial support of GELI and to lobby on its behalf when needed.

Washington: A Powerful Board and Strategic Alliances

Advocates in Washington State saw the 1996 federal welfare reform and a booming local economy as opportunities to make innovative changes in the state's child care system. By almost all accounts, the effort was led by an energetic leader who built a new nonprofit organization that seeks to bring economic security issues that affect middle-class and low-income families to the public's attention.

The Economic Opportunity Institute (EOI) was founded in 1998 by John Burbank, an active policy leader in Seattle. The organization introduces innovative policy proposals to the state legislature and generates support for its ideas through policy research, media messages, and strong working relations with key players and constituency groups. The development of the "Child Care Worker Career Development Ladder" is the most visible and innovative symbol of the new group's success in the advocacy arena.

EOI led the advocacy strategy to promote the Career Development Ladder in 1998. The idea of a career ladder, designed by Burbank, had been introduced into the Washington state legislature by Senator Jeanne Kohl-Welles (D) several years earlier with little result. Burbank and his colleagues at EOI saw the availability and flexibility of TANF money as an opportunity to reintroduce the idea of a career ladder to the governor's office. Using a combination of high-level personal contacts, political lobbying, and constituent-based media activities, EOI with the help of co-Speaker of the House Frank Chopp convinced the governor to allocate TANF funds for the proposed career ladder.

Several strategic steps helped move this proposal forward. First, in creating EOI, Burbank invited a number of influential government, business, and child care leaders to join EOI's board of directors. The board includes the lobbyist for Child Care Works for Washington, which is the largest child care coalition in Washington; the co-speaker of the state house of representatives; and the head of the state Department of Social and Health Services. These members provided critical influence during the negotiations to obtain approval for funding and implementing the pilot project.

EOI also joined a partnership that was already operating to improve child care workers' wages. The SEIU-925 and Seattle Worthy Wages had partnered in 1998 to organize Seattle child care centers, but they did not have a concrete proposal to solve the wage problem. With a viable model provided by EOI, SEIU-925 and Seattle Worthy Wages helped to build support for the career ladder among workers and parents, and with EOI's help did considerable lobbying of state policymakers as well as public education efforts. Finally, EOI used the media to communicate its message to the general public. Burbank frequently appeared on radio talk shows and news programs to generate interest

in and support for the career ladder. He also placed editorials in several of the state's leading newspapers.

Although the EOI engages in various collaborative efforts, it decided *not* to form a coalition with other advocacy groups to introduce its career ladder because leaders at EOI felt that the organizational weight of a coalition would slow EOI's ability to move quickly. Strategically, EOI wanted the flexibility to move nimbly through the negotiating process and to lay claim to TANF funds. As a consequence, some advocacy groups and government staff felt excluded from the process and are not fully supportive of the career ladder model.

Massachusetts: A Political-style, Grassroots Campaign

Many child advocates in Massachusetts believe that child care and early education have been low policy priorities since the early 1990s when the Republican Party took control of the governor's office. Since then, numerous efforts by a variety of groups have attempted to generate attention for child care issues, but little consensus among the advocacy groups and few tangible benefits have resulted. Several unions in the western part of the state have been active in bringing attention to the compensation issues, but efforts to organize child care workers are difficult because of the small scale of most child care establishments and the high staff turnover in the child care industry.

The Early Education for All Campaign, led by political strategist Margaret Blood, is viewed by many Massachusetts advocates as the best chance for getting the issue on the state policy agenda. Like Burbank in Washington, Blood is a dynamic and savvy leader who has created an organization and statewide campaign to push for improvements in the care and education of young children.

As mentioned above, Early Education for All emerged from a research and constituency building project supported by a private foundation. The Caroline and Sigmund Schott Foundation approached Blood to mount a campaign for universal child care and early education. To start the process, Blood created a network of disparate groups with diverse strategic approaches, including representatives of the business sector, unions, legislators, lobbyists, and child care providers, to discuss child care issues. The network's members became part of the project's Advisory Committee.

The Campaign developed a strategy to conduct a voters' poll and a series of regional hearings that canvassed the entire state. The purpose of these activities was to raise awareness about early childhood education, build public support for it, and learn which issues and potential remedies were most likely to be supported by voters across the state. The data collected through the polls and various interviews were published in a report that was distributed statewide. A team of child care policy experts has begun to draft a bill that is likely to call for universal early education for 3-, 4-, and 5-year-old children in the state and address the worker compensation issue. Further details of the bill are not available at this time, but it will be interesting to see if the existing network of advocates and stakeholders remains supportive of the plan or if, after the specific details of the bill are unveiled, these groups splinter into competing factions. Several advocates in Massachusetts have noted that "the jury is still out" on the Early Education for All Campaign until they see the details of the bill.

COMPETITION AND TENSIONS

Competition and tensions inevitably are a part of the policymaking process. These case studies showed at least three nodes of competition that affected the development of initiatives to address child care worker compensation: (1) competition between nonprofit and for-profit child care providers; (2) competition among nonprofit advocacy groups; and (3) competition between state agencies.

Competition between Nonprofit and For-Profit Providers

Literature on the nonprofit sector frequently raises the concern about competition between nonprofit and for-profit organizations in the same service field. In these case studies, there was some evidence of tension between nonprofit and for-profit child care providers, although the results were mixed from state to state. The tension surfaced most clearly in Georgia where for-profit child care providers represent approximately half of all center-based providers in the state and are well organized for legislative lobbying. On several occasions, for-profit providers were able to organize and mobilize parents to oppose initiatives that might raise the costs of care. Only a few people who were interviewed in Massachusetts mentioned competition between nonprofit and for-profit providers as a factor in the child care worker compensation debates. But a study conducted in 2000 and 2001 by the Department of Education's Center and Head Start Survey found that for-profit centers, on average, paid their workers less than nonprofit centers (Massachusetts Department of Education 2002). Interestingly, there was little evidence of tension between for-profits and nonprofits in Washington State. As one observer speculated, "There is so little profit margin in the child care industry, that the distinction between nonprofits and for-profits is almost meaningless."

Competition Among Nonprofit Groups

Competition among nonprofits was evident in all states. Although most nonprofit child advocates and child care providers favor policies to improve the quality of child care services, tensions sometimes surface when specific strategies are discussed. In Massachusetts, for example, the Massachusetts Association of Day Care Agencies (MADCA), a large statewide organization of child care providers, favors rate increases. Grassroots groups, unions, and graduates of the Leadership Empowerment Action Project (LEAP) view a rate strategy as inadequate because it only affects state-contracted providers and does not require that the funds be used to increase wages. On the other hand, grassroots advocates and union representatives favor Senator Magnani's Quality Aid Bill, but MADCA has given this bill a lukewarm response.

Finding compromises and common ground can be difficult, but the introduction of multiple bills reflecting different points of view can undercut the likelihood that anything will be done. In Georgia, GELI is trying to bring nonprofits into a larger public-private partnership to create more consensus and less fragmentation around child care issues. To date, GELI has had some early success in advocating for child care programs, but it is a relatively new group and will need to demonstrate its long-term staying power. In Washington State, the perception by some nonprofit groups that they were excluded from the development of the career development ladder may necessitate fence-mending to avoid future problems.

Competition between State Agencies

Responsibility for child care policies and regulations is not always found in a single state agency. One agency may be responsible for licensing and regulation of the child care

industry, another may run the state's Head Start program, and yet another may focus on educational content and curriculum of child care and early education programs. A study of collaboration among state agencies found that organizational factors, such as overburdened staff, scarce funds, competing goals, fear of losing control over resources or services, and differences in workers' backgrounds can cause competition rather than collaboration among state agencies (Ehrle et al. 2001). Such factors were evident in these case studies.

In Massachusetts, for example, two state agencies—the Office of Child Care Services (OCCS) and the Department of Education (DOE)—are responsible for different aspects of child care and early education. OCCS is the licensing and regulatory body for child care providers and also administers the state's reimbursement rate system for providers who serve low-income children. OCCS views child care from both the educational and social service frameworks, but emphasizes the latter. DOE, on the other hand, regards its mission as primarily educational, not simply child care. The child care slots that DOE funds (via its Community Partnerships for Children, a system of locally based stakeholder networks) have higher reimbursement rates and standards than child care slots funded by OCCS.

The differences between DOE and OCCS are also apparent in the way the two agencies relate to their grantees and contractors. DOE operates its local Community Partnerships for Children in a very hands-off manner, allowing local groups to design and manage their own programs. OCCS requires extensive paperwork for all contractors. Critics of DOE claim that there is little oversight or accountability of these local groups; critics of OCCS see the regulatory requirements as burdensome and overly prescriptive.

OCCS appears to be under pressure from legislators to use its child care allocations to increase access to care, so it prefers to fund more slots at a lower rate. DOE counters that this strategy will not improve the quality of child care and prefers to link compensation rates to the education and experience of the provider. Staff of both DOE and OCCS recognize the tensions and are trying to overcome them. But interagency disagreements about the policy direction and solutions to child care in general, and child care worker compensation, specifically, have impeded the development of new initiatives in the past few years.

LESSONS LEARNED

In an era of federal policy devolution, there is a growing need to better understand how nonprofit advocacy groups operate at the state and local levels. The findings of this study illustrate how state-level advocacy campaigns are formed and shaped by the constraints and opportunities of their environments. Policy entrepreneurs in each state crafted different messages to fit the circumstances of their particular state and seized upon opportunities that would enhance the likelihood of success. As the literature suggests, a mix of inside and outside strategies were used to gain momentum for these innovative and controversial initiatives.

In Georgia, for example, the governor led a top-down, insider strategy and framed the initiative as an economic development measure, thereby bringing business leaders into the policy discussion. In addition, the introduction of a new state lottery offered an opportunity to fund the Pre-K initiative without raising taxes. In Washington, policy entrepreneurs seized upon the availability of TANF funds and argued that the career

ladder initiative would improve the quality of child care and professionalize the child care workforce. A mixture of insider tactics and outsider grassroots mobilization were used to gain political support for the career ladder initiative's funding. In Massachusetts, public opinion polls showed that educational issues resonated with voters, so the issue is being framed in terms of universal early education for young children. To date, advocates have focused on an outside strategy by building local support for the initiative before taking their case to the state legislature.

The study also offers some useful insights into three other factors that influenced the advocacy process—leadership, the role of new groups, and financing issues. These factors, described below, emerged as important elements of the advocacy campaigns for improving compensation for child care workers.

Leadership

The need for strong and creative leadership cannot be underscored too strongly. While it is impossible to clone dynamic and charismatic leaders, the need for leaders who can generate ideas, create organizational structures, and mobilize constituencies to take collective action is an essential ingredient for long-term advocacy work.

An interesting finding from these case studies is that in all three states, the leaders who are most credited with moving the child care issue forward are individuals who come from outside the child care and child advocacy fields. They were not trained in early education, child development, or other children's issues. Rather, they come from the worlds of politics, economics, public policy, and community organizing. The skills that these leaders developed through previous work experiences helped them build strong and strategic relationships with groups and individuals who were persuaded to support their

advocacy efforts. An interesting question is whether it takes an "outsider" to more clearly view the needs of a particular group and to generate the structures and compromises that will move the group's agenda forward.

Emerging Groups

Leadership around the issue of child care worker compensation is coming from newly formed groups, such as the EOI in Seattle and Strategies for Children in Boston, and from labor unions. Indeed, labor unions are important players because they bring not only decades of experience on worker compensation issues, but also skills and resources for mounting large-scale public education campaigns and lobbying efforts. Most child advocacy groups are too fledgling or lack the resources to engage in intensive, time-consuming advocacy efforts.

Surprisingly, local affiliates of national child advocacy groups did not play a prominent role in these three sites. Despite the groups' national affiliations and presumed experience in participating in the policymaking process, interviewees did not cite these groups as leaders in the child care worker compensation debates. Whether the issue of child care worker compensation is too narrowly defined, too locally based, or outside their current policy agendas, the limited role that national groups played is noteworthy. It also underscores the impression that newer groups may be emerging as the activist voices of the child care field.

Financing Issues

Financing remains a major stumbling block in addressing the issue of better compensation for child care workers. It is unlikely that the cost of these programs can be sustained solely through users' fees or corporate or philanthropic support, so some mix of public-private

funding is necessary. Identifying a steady stream of funding is a major challenge (Helburn and Bergmann 2002).

Of the three states in our study, Georgia has been the most successful in identifying a reliable pool of money. Funding for its universal Pre-K program is tied to the state lottery. Washington State supports its career ladder through TANF funds, which are vulnerable to competing demands for these resources and to federal reauthorization. Massachusetts also uses TANF funds for its reimbursement rate system. The Early Education for All Campaign has not indicated yet the financial mechanisms it will recommend to support its forthcoming proposal.

To have a real and lasting impact on child care worker compensation, advocates must secure a steady stream of funding to support their proposals. Otherwise, they face continuous battles for reauthorization of programs and reappropriation of funds. Recurring battles over funding not only make any current gains for child care workers a temporary victory but also place a strain on advocacy groups' scarce resources in prolonged efforts.

CONCLUSIONS

These three case studies illustrate the variety of ways nonprofit advocacy groups work in the public policy arena. They represent three different approaches for organizing and structuring advocacy activity, yet they faced common challenges in working toward their goal of improving compensation for the child care workforce. To move child care issues forward, the findings of these case studies suggest that advocates, foundations, and other stakeholders need to consider the following steps:

- **Increase public awareness of the need for quality child care programs and the linkages between well-trained, well-compensated child care providers and quality of care.** Many parents, voters, and policymakers do not fully understand the need for quality child care or that low staff wages can affect quality through high staff turnover and poorly trained teachers. Public education campaigns emphasizing the benefits that quality child care provides young children can help to strengthen support for these issues.
- **Build a broad and diverse constituency beyond child advocacy groups.** Advocates for children must work with multiple stakeholders to generate a broad base of support for their proposals. As these case studies demonstrate, the ability to work with a cross-section of diverse interests—parents, child care providers, unions, businesses, and policymakers—is essential for obtaining political support in the policymaking process. Too frequently, parents are not engaged in the political process, and child care workers should be empowered to speak on their own behalf. Advocates for children should go beyond their own spheres of influence and seek common ground with unexpected allies, such as the business community, to address complex and controversial issues such as child care worker compensation and quality of care.
- **Develop concrete proposals that lawmakers can act on.** Initial stages of the advocacy process can benefit from multiple ideas, multiple initiatives, and many points of view. Bringing diverse constituencies into the process can help shape thinking, identify areas of common ground and points of compromise, and solidify support. But as ideas mature and come to legislators and public officials, they need to be shaped into concrete and well-articulated proposals. Introducing multiple bills that reflect

different points of view limits the chances that a bill will be passed and funded. Pursuing one or two major policy goals rather than a long list of needs helps to focus resources and energies on the problem (Carson 2001).

- **Move quickly to scale up programs that reach all children.** Many advocates in these case studies said that a critical factor to a program's success is the ability to move quickly from a pilot stage to a statewide program. One way to do this, they found, is to site pilot programs in the districts of key state legislators. If key legislative leaders see the tangible benefits that a pilot program brings to his or her constituents, they are more likely to champion the program. Also, making a program universal rather than targeted toward low-income children and families will increase the program's political viability. The Georgia Universal Pre-K program is a good example of this type of political strategy.
- **Seek a steady stream of funding.** In the end, money matters. Quality child care is costly, and advocates should identify a solid and secure source of funding to support their efforts. Partnerships among government, business, and the foundation communities may be needed to achieve the common goal of quality care for children.
- **Build an infrastructure that supports the professional development of the child care workforce.** Training and professional development for child care workers will not happen quickly unless an infrastructure is in place to support these efforts. The type of infrastructure that will be needed, however, will vary from state to state. In some states, there may be a need to increase the network of community colleges and four-year universities that offer AA degrees in early education or child development certificates; in other states, additional scholarship programs may be required to give

child care workers access to training in early childhood development and education. Improving the education, training, and skills of the child care workforce will require investment in the structures and tools that support this process. Such investments, however, must take into account the ethnic and cultural differences of local communities.

- **Strengthen the capacity of nonprofit organizations that engage in child advocacy.** Many child advocacy organizations lack the capacity to conduct extensive or ongoing advocacy work. They often lack the time, knowledge, staff, and resources to follow legislation, meet legislative leaders, conduct public education campaigns or media relations, prepare expert testimony, or otherwise engage in the political process. But in the world of politics, being at the policy table can be key to advancing one's issues. Without the resources and capacity to serve this function, many child advocacy groups are handicapped in getting their voices heard.

These case studies shed some new light on how child advocates operate in the policy arena: how they frame issues, build support and alliances, and work within a changing policy environment. The findings also highlight ways in which research can aid in the policymaking process.

Both Massachusetts and Washington, for example, used research studies as a starting point for developing their initiatives. This approach gave advocates a factual basis for building their programs and crafting their arguments. But research can also play a role at the end of the advocacy process. It can provide feedback on the strengths and weaknesses of the advocacy campaign—what worked; what didn't. It can help the advocacy organization diagnose areas in which it needs to build capacity. Research can

also monitor and evaluate the effectiveness of the new policies and programs providing essential feedback on how the programs are operating and what changes might further improve the child care industry.

As this study shows, states are providing new and viable models to address child care worker compensation issues and the overall quality of child care in America. Much has been accomplished in raising this important and contentious issue, but there is still a long way to go to address the widespread problem of low pay and few benefits in the child care industry.

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Appendix A. Interview Guide

INTERVIEW GUIDE

Start of the Interview

First, I want to thank you for agreeing to participate in our study. I realize that your time is valuable and we really appreciate it that you are giving me this time.

As I mentioned previously, my name is [enter name] and I am with the [affiliation]. The study that we are conducting is on behalf of the Urban Institute, a nonprofit, nonpartisan organization in Washington, D.C., which conducts public policy research for government agencies and private foundations. I will leave you some information about the Urban Institute. You also can see their work on the Web at http://www.urban.org.

Currently, the Center on Nonprofits and Philanthropy at the Urban Institute is conducting three in-depth case studies of how the issue of improving compensation for child care workers gets on the public policy agenda and is shaped in the policy arena. The case studies are being conducted in Georgia, Massachusetts, and Washington State. The study is sponsored by the Foundation for Child Development.

The goals of the study are to better understand how compensation for child care workers is addressed in the states, what groups are active in this process, what are the advocacy strategies and activities used to advance this issue, and how these approaches may affect the policy agenda.

Today, I will be asking you a series of questions, including

- How is the issue of child care worker compensation discussed in [state]?
- What types of advocacy strategies are used?
- Who, in your opinion, are the key players?
- What have been the successes and challenges in getting child care worker compensation on the policy agenda?
- What are the next steps for child care worker compensation initiatives in [state]?

The interview should take approximately one hour. I will be taking notes during our discussion, but I would like to ask your permission to tape record this interview. This will help me to check my notes at a later time. We will keep all the information completely confidential. The tapes will be destroyed at the end of the study. Your name will not be used in our report, but we may quote something you say and attribute it to someone with your position, such as "a child advocate noted..." or "a state legislator said..." If you would like to say something but do not want it to be directly quoted, please let me know. I appreciate your willingness to speak openly and honestly and would like to foster that dialogue. Do you have any questions before we start?

SECTION 1. Defining and Framing the Issue

1. To begin, please tell me briefly about the major initiatives related to child care worker compensation that have been proposed or enacted in [state] over the past 10 years. Also, please describe how these initiatives are framed. In other words, are they discussed in terms of education, child development, labor supply or demand, some other way, or a mix of ways?

2. What factors do you think influenced this approach and why?

3. What were the critical turning points for moving forward the agenda to increase compensation for child care workers?

SECTION 2: Strategies Used by Interviewee/Interviewee's Organization

We are interested in learning about the strategies or activities that are used to promote initiatives on child care worker compensation in [state].

[Note: Because not all respondents engage in advocacy-related activities, the interviewer should use his or her discretion when asking questions in this section to policymakers, local foundations, etc.]

4. How is your organization involved in the issue of child care worker compensation?

5. What actions or strategies did your organization follow to get the issue of child care wages and benefits on the public policy agenda? [Please ask the interviewee to provide details on actions and strategies.]

6. What is *your* role in these activities?

7. Why did your organization select these activities or strategies?

8. Which of these activities and strategies do you consider to be the most successful? Why?

SECTION 3. Key Players in the Policy Process

9. Who do you regard as the key players in getting the topic of child care worker compensation on the policy agenda and in shaping the policy process and the policy outcomes?

   [Please probe for various types of key players and remember to record the characteristics of the key players.]

10. What strategies do/did these groups use to promote child care workers' compensation?

11. Did these key players work together? If so, how? For example, did they form coalitions to address the issue of child care worker compensation?

12. Was/is there any friction among groups? If so, why and in what ways?

SECTION 4: Successes

13. What do you consider to be the successes of the efforts to promote better compensation for child care workers?

14. Why do you feel that these efforts were successful?

15. From your perspective, which groups have been the most successful in advancing this issue and why?

SECTION 5. Challenges and Barriers Faced

We previously discussed the strategies used to formulate proposals on child care worker compensation. Let's turn to the challenges and barriers that were faced in this process.

16. What factors inhibited the ability of advocates to get this issue on the public agenda?

20. Please tell me more about these factors. For example, were there any groups that took the lead in opposing these initiatives? If so, how?

20. How did key players (including your organization) address the **challenges** to promote child care worker compensation initiatives?

SECTION 6: Next Steps

One final section—

19. In your opinion, what lies ahead for child care worker compensation initiatives in your state and nationally?

20. What issues related to child care worker compensation in [state] remain to be resolved?

20. How might the successful advocacy strategies used in [state] be applied to other states or the national policy agenda? In other words, if you were to make a list of "best practices" for addressing this issue, what are the two or three strategies that you would include?

Thank you for taking the time to meet with me.

If I have any clarifying questions, may I call you? _____yes _____no

If you would like to receive a copy of the final report when it is available, I will be happy to see that you receive one.

_____wants a copy of report _____doesn't want a copy